/295/

Preface

114 121 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

114 [101] This expedition took place from February to June, 1929. Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

114 101 103 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano tolderías of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa Ana, then the Alto del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simon, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of [126] pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants [178] of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itaiti and then Salado Grande, [361] in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Ñawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Yumbía.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

[199] [198] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Misque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Laguniila) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

C 105 175 [169] [173]

/331 cont./

This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

Ce [197] [199]

At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C [618] [619]

The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

C [197]

From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

Ce [199] [197] [198]

On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

C 175 131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

C [101]

C [36]

/332 cont./ Permanent
villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques. The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco. The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures, given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the number of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapiti and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Igüembé (1).

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
[177] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men are served first, then the women and children, it follows that the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating, they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

252 415 412 264 [3] [9] [263] *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 592 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

361 178 [343] [712] The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 177 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

4: Nino

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SF10 Chiriguano SF10

p. 447	p. 448	p. 449
p. 450	p. 451	p. 452

Chart of Positions of End Map, (pp. 447-452).
/facing End Map/

/6 cont./

133 comfortable to go down as to go up, if an occasional short
[241] section be excepted. The hill of Padilla attracts the attention of
●[361] all; there grow and ripen well both potatoes and maize, and
the hill is sprinkled on both sides with houses of all sizes.
From January to May the fields give it a quite picturesque and
pleasing appearance as it rises some 2,340 meters above sea
level, for which reason no doubt it is unforested with the trees
which are found nearby growing exuberantly on the plain toward
Monteagudo along the rivulet called Limón.

Next come the hills called Huacangui, Bartolo, and Cazaderos, the first two found on the right bank and the latter on the left bank of the Acero River, which touches the slopes of the last named; the three have no peculiarity, only that they are tree covered, rather high, and the road through
[136] them is very bad. Cazaderos Hill abounds in jaguars, and it is the same hill which must be crossed or climbed in order to go from San Juan del Piray to San Pablo de Huacareta; before one climbs this hill near San Juan, there is another small one called Ñañoloma, which attracts the attention of all because it is very narrow, low, and straight; it is a straight line which rises in the middle of the valley and continues without ending to the southeast; the Piray and Parapiti rivers wash the base of Ñañolama.

/7/ Monteagudo has a somewhat irregular plain, but it is not interrupted by hills until three leagues away, that is, at the Parapiti River in Matara, where there is another hill renowned only because it is a road and an extremely bad one. The Parapiti River bathes it at its base, and along the river itself the way is very boldly opened through the hard rock, forming a waterfall there; this same hill must be climbed to leave Ingre Canton, as well as Igüembe, where the passage is also quite rough.

133 From Matara to Ivu there are hills and rises of little im-
173 portance, if one makes an exception of the hills of Itiranti,
648 Saararenta, and Incahuasi, which last separates the province of Acero from that of Cordillera; on Incahuasi there are an infinite number of ruins of fortresses and houses, which, according to what they say and the name Incahuasi, "Inca's House," was an encampment of Quechua Indians, when, at the orders

/13 cont./

132 atmosphere immediately cools down and there begins a cold wind whose chill is increased as it passes through the region of hail, and since the maize stalks are still tender they are easily stricken. The hail that falls is big, the earth is churned up, and it kills birds, sheep, goats, and other animals, if they are unable to hide in the bushes or under thick trees, but this does not happen often nor every year.

[133] Earthquakes are most rare; I felt them twice during my stay in the region, in 1899 and 1909, but the wind is sometimes so strong that it seems to make the earth tremble; there is no doubt but that it tears up trees and strips them, ruins buildings, and dismantles tiled roofs. Foreigners in this [145] so hot and changeable climate soon age and turn gray, but the natives who are used to it from childhood, despite the vices of drinking and others to which they surrender, enjoy a relatively long and healthy life.

It can readily be understood from what has been said that here the seasons of the year follow a different order from that which is seen in the Old World. Despite the fact, then, that there are no more than two seasons, we always can and ought to consider the four, in order to follow the general rule of the universe which divides the year into four parts. Summer begins December 21, fall March 21, winter June 21, and spring September 21, but all of these come ahead of time, as anyone who has lived here can testify.

Fertility

133 182 311 312 361 The Aguaragüe range, which is found to the east and one league from the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, is the last one in Chiriguano territory. Small towns and families of these Indians are scattered here and there are still found east of the said range some 15 leagues away, but beyond that /14/ there are none because the area is arid and dry, "igũi utini vae," as they say, and the Chiriguano accustomed to planting maize, beans, and gourds cannot live where there is a scarcity of rain for his crops and water for his daily bath.

/75 cont./

174
169 They could have emigrated from their land of residence and followed the course of the Paraguay River on its right bank, arriving at Curumbá, and then across the salt flats of San José, coming to the places which they occupy today, but the stretch is longer, the water to be found is scarce, and over great stretches there is no trace of anything which /76/ might verify their emigration over this route, if indeed they would not have been attacked en route by the numerous nomads thereabouts.

[133]
[36] It is necessary to conclude that they followed the banks of the Pilcomayo River; this rapid stream starts in the interior of the Bolivian Republic, crosses through the entire Chiriguano region, and empties into the Paraguay; its banks from near Azurduy up to Villa Montes is a straight line of more than 50 leagues, all populated by Indians who are clearly Chiriguano. From Villa Montes to Guachalla near the Esteros del Padre Patiño there are Choroti and Tapiete, who, with slight differences, speak the Chiriguano language; this stretch has plenty of water, fish, and fruit and is shorter than the above-mentioned one. Dr. Campos followed the banks of this river in order to arrive in Paraguay; Colonel Rivas, the Frenchman Crevaux, and the Spaniard Ibarreta followed the Pilcomayo River on their expeditions; they failed not through a lack of food or water, but some because they felt sure of the goodness of the Indians, and others because they had a very small force with them. All of these circumstances clearly show that the Chiriguano must have come into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo; the tribes along the way could not have offered them much difficulty, because their number was extraordinary; hardship on the travel rations was so insignificant that it allowed them to fight with vigor and bravery, and finally their attitude was peaceful (1).

1. Colonel Rivas and the Frenchman Crevaux were killed by the Toba, and Ibarreta by other Indians.

/77 cont./

"Conumi," lad, do not have an accent on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in Guaraní.

In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, embraced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Choreti, Tasete, Araticu, and in the Potosí and Tarija missions; but in the former places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and 2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai, and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

Purity of language is now no longer found in any town or in the missions, in the first because of living among whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Republic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason, instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first, as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few books that exist will only serve as an historical monument for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

/79 cont./

178 444 [197] [162] Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from [131] [465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 [167] There is a great struggle under way between the Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[444] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 197 ● 361 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former times and the very missions which antedate South American independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/84 cont./

797
175 We have said that the strength of 12 men was needed to move the cross found among the Chiriguano from the cave to the town of La Torre. Nevertheless, on the occasion of a fire which destroyed the church and a metal chalice, one soldier went into the temple to save the cross from the fire, and he alone took it from among the flames, which scarcely left any signs of the fire on the Holy Wood.

In a quarrel which occurred among some soldiers Francisco del Cerro was gravely injured by a deadly stab wound; neither doctors nor surgeons were present, and meanwhile this soldier was bleeding and was in danger of dying.

In those days they were very faithful, and since they fervently venerated the cross which they had found in the cave, they removed a small part of the Holy Wood, reduced it to powder, /85/ the wounded man drank it in some water, the blood ceased to flow, and within four days he was completely well, without need of any other medicine.

From these and other extraordinary deeds performed by the Holy Wood, we can deduce, still depending on the tradition of the Paraguay Indians, that it was quite probable that one of the Apostles of Christ came to preach the faith in this part of the world and even probable that this Apostle might have been St. Thomas, because the description given by the Guaraní and Chiriguano Indians corresponds to that of the same Apostle told to us in the ecclesiastical histories.

Missions of the Colegio de Potosí (1)

● [361]

1. The department of Potosí does not have any Chiriguano Indians, and thus the Franciscans of that Colegio /school/ could not have catechized them by establishing missions, but, by previous agreement with the missionaries of Sucre and permission of the government and diocesan authority, they came into possession of their territory.

/91 cont./

Cuevo

361 175 [103] The town of Cuevo is located on the left bank of the torrent or stream of the same name. Before the war of the year 1875, and even later, it was known by the Chiriguano who lived there as Ñumbicte, which means "halfway field," and in fact it occupies a beautiful level place located almost midway between the ranges to the west and those to the east.

Almost all of the first white inhabitants were from the department of Santa Cruz, and it is an undeniable fact that Colonel Víctor Antezana moved to the region of Cuevo-Ibo with some militiamen from Lagunillas and built a fortress where the public cemetery of Cuevo is today, and another one where the church of San Buenaventura of the mission of Yvu has been built, both works which are owed to the constancy and activity of the Franciscan missionaries of the Villa Imperial. The fortresses are later than 1875.

[797] [648] Subsequently, the town was formed under the protection of the missionaries themselves and around the Cross of the Savior; it was completely burned by the Indians in the uprising of Curuyuqui in 1892, but the inhabitants of Cuevo who did not perish, with the assistance of the flourishing mission of Santa Rosa, built anew and in better condition the new town, which continues to progress today.

175 648 [361] In the war of the year 1875 all the Chiriguano of Cuevo-Ibo and Huacaya, together with the treacherous Toba and guided by the great cacique Corone, who lost his life in the torrent of Baecua opposite the town of Igüembe, rose up as one man to overwhelm all the whites in the region.

/92/ In this critical situation the intrepid subprefect of the province of Acero, D. Antonio Menduiña, with the militiamen from Monteagudo, San Juan del Piray, Huacareta, and Ingre, flew to the region of Igüembe and with these people overwhelmed the innumerable and ferocious host, reducing it at once to impotence by the slaughter of Caipipendi.

/92 cont./

361 648 Cuevo had belonged by law from long before Independence, and still belonged by right of conquest after the defeat of the barbarians, to the department of Chuquisaca, but the Representación Crucefia /representatives from Santa Cruz/ has constantly demanded the region of Cuevo-Ibo as an integral part of the territory of Santa Cruz.

The current legislature has ended this much-discussed matter on the basis of the law of 1898. Cuevo consequently now belongs to the department of Santa Cruz, because that law fixes as the interdepartmental boundary the left bank of its stream, which is about 150 or 200 meters from the town.

[797] Even the Representación Tarijeña /from Tarija/ has been consulted in this matter and has fixed its boundaries at the right bank of the stream of Camatindi; this was based on the same law and on the fact that the territory was settled by Christians from Tarija and was won over by the Franciscan missionaries from the Colegio of the same city since before 1875. Tarija still retains the region of Caipipendi, which belonged to the Huacaya canton.

When the interdepartmental arrangement is finally made, Sucre will lose a zone of 12 to 14 leagues from Cuevo to the right bank of the Parapiti River, and another eight leagues or so from the right bank of the Camatindi stream, not counting the incalculable zone lost toward the east. Here is the law promulgated: /the remainder of p. 92, p. 93, and six lines, including a footnote, on p. 94 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 94 follows./

Ibo or Ivu Canton

631 648 Once the interdepartmental problem is solved in a friendly fashion, according to the bill approved in the Chamber of Deputies in this year of 1912 and promulgated as the law of the nation, the department of Sucre is prepared to elevate to the rank of canton the region of Ibo or Ivu, the capital of which might be the San Buenaventura Mission, located at this very place.

/96 cont./

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648 The expedition entrusted by the Supreme Government to an Englishman, which was to enter the Cayuguari region through Picuigua (water for dovelings), can be said to have failed, because the two attempts which it made were without result and it had to return in order not to perish because of the absolute lack of water.

~~000~~ Picuigua is some 12 leagues distant from Cayuguari. Picuigua is a dry lake, but, with drilling, sufficient water can be obtained for the garrison of the fort which is to be established, should it turn out that the news of the existence of a permanent lake in Cayuguari, where there are some 50 families, is false. /The last paragraph of p. 96, p. 97, and the first three paragraphs of p. 98 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 98 follows./

Itatiqui

• 361
[131] The town of Chiriguano infidels with which I head these few lines is located 11 leagues from the Franciscan Mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu and seven leagues from the missions of the Parapiti Grande, at 19° 43' 13" latitude south of the meridian of Paris, and at 60° 29' 42" west longitude.

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361 The Colegio de Misiones Franciscanas de Potosí is trying to establish in this place a Misión Conversora which would depend on the Fathers established on the banks of the Parapiti River. The idea is eminently civilizing and progressive, because this place is located along the highway which, coming out of Yacuiba, passes /99/ through Charagua and ends in the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In the journey from the little town of Buyuive to the Parapiti Grande, there is no other town which might be able to provide services for the travelers and the vehicles which traverse it every day without being able now to count upon any assistance in their difficult crossing.

797 The Indian of Itatiqui is too poor and lazy; it is necessary to get him moving and watch over him so that he may become useful and progress; in his territory there is no water, nor are there artificial lakes so that he and his livestock

/101 cont./

361 799 1. Machareti. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Machareti, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1869, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Taruncunti, not very friendly to the missionaries.

[162] Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, [167] its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic [464] of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the principal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wail for workers.

361 [133] Machareti has a delightful and picturesque panorama; to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything; it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

361 799 131 1. When the Machareti mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Chorro road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivu; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/102 cont./

797 2. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, began its existence on May 20, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Machareti, with quite a rough road.

361 797 [162] At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

[133] Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascual de Boicovo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (2). /Illustration appears here./

[563] [464] [131] 2. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p 141]

/105/

997 Itau, Chimeo. -- Itau has been in existence for more than a century, and Chimeo more than half a century. In the first reside two missionaries, one of whom attends to spiritual matters for the parish of Chimeo, which has been reduced to almost nothing. Indians and Christians live in the area, the latter being more numerous than the former. Itau and Chimeo were missions and officially still are, because the diocesan authority could not accept them due to a lack of clergy, but in fact they are no longer missions. Itau has many white settlers, and in Chimeo the missionary is not even in residence, which indicates that a permanent stay there would be little less than useless, because of the lack of settlers.

7. Yacuiba, Caiza, Carapari, and Camatindi. -- The towns with whose names we have headed these few lines all belong to the white race and are populated centers, especially the first one, where the political authority of the province of the Gran Chaco resides, in addition to which the customs office is also there, because the town is the one nearest to the boundary with the Republic of Argentina. All of them are helped in spiritual matters by the missionaries of Tarija and in some they have a permanent residence.

997 361 8. Carandaiti. -- This recently formed town merits a few exclusive lines. It is some eight leagues from the Machareti mission by a somewhat rough road, deserted and lacking in water. It can be regarded as the largest canton of the province of Azero, inasmuch as its very extensive territory goes to the right bank of the Parapiti River, as long as the interdepartmental question of Cuevo-Ibo is not settled.

The town of Carandaiti owes its founding to the parishes of the canton of Igüembe, Huacaya, and Ingre. After the war of 1875, the Indians of Huacaya were pacified with the founding of the Boicovo mission and the military fort of Huacaya. In a few years several of them left this place, and, with the inducement of receiving in recompense one league of land, they explored Carandaiti and settled in that place. They were attacked by the tribes repeatedly, suffered a few

/105 cont./

797
361 setbacks, and endured the bitterness of having some captured by the savages, but the establishment of the town is now an accomplished fact. It has a pretty church, consecrated at the end of July, 1908, and the only thing lacking is a priest in residence to attend to them spiritually with great care, because Machareti is quite far for this widespread parish (1).

1. The Christians who explored the territory of Carandaiti received the land promised; there is no potable water other than that of the ponds, which are in danger of being emptied. The preservation of this town should receive the attention of the Government of Bolivia for the sake of commerce, the cattle industry, transportation, and the prospect of new explorations to the east.

128
127 /106/ With the brief summary which I have made with reference to the missionaries among the Chiriguano and to the towns of whites built in the same region, presided over by the Franciscans of Tarija and Potosí, I bring an end to this second chapter, in which several opinions regarding the origin and point of departure of the Chiriguano for the region which they occupied, and with slight differences occupy at present, have been expressed.

There is no invention in it; by means of patient verification from different persons at different times, by consulting numerous authors, who, by study, reference, or in passing, have left something in writing, I have come to learn certain facts which, if they are believed here, are also believed in other places, and I have concluded that not all of it could be a fable, and as I have heard them told, so do I present them to my readers. This is the chapter which has concerned me most, and I do not know if the time, vigils, and the sleep of which my eyes have been deprived have been well employed; be that as it may, the public now has it.

/157 cont./

Principle of Authority

600 The principle of authority is innate in humankind and to attempt to destroy it is madness. Ever since man came into the world, the principle of authority has existed, as can clearly be read in /158/ Genesis: Sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui; thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee.

As it is innate in humankind, through guilt more than through necessity in the beginning, the said principle has always been in effect everywhere. There is no nation, no matter how barbarous, which does not recognize this principle as a necessity, and to attempt to destroy it, as the anarchists wish to do, is to wish for the impossible. The Tubicha, great one or authority, say the old Indians, emanates from God himself, and that is why it begins with the same letter. The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 214/ shows several caciques of the San Buenaventura Mission; only the one in the frock coat and cane (Anduari) did not take part in the uprising at Curuyuqui (1).

[551]

1. The Indians in the illustration are: Asicayu, Asucari, Periquiyu, and Guarerai to the right of the cacique Anduari; Chipa and Patiri, or Patricio, at the left.

648 The entire region has today been explored and is under the power of the whites, who first entered with the permission of the owner (ab immemorabili), and after having taken possession, they have made themselves owners, buying lands as property of the nation. Some might believe that the Chiriguano 619 liked to live in great centers, when it is known that formerly 361 they were very numerous, but one who passes through the territory [622] will soon understand that each tribe is at most made up of some [643] 40 families and that in each tribe there is a cacique who is dependent upon another greater one, whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great of the great. In one league of territory or even less, an explorer, or passer-by, or sojourner can still find four or five Chiriguano Tribes at short distances.

/158 cont./

000 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town
• 361 that I found on my travels is Mumbirai, which is joined to
[[114] Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi,
621] where I often slept: the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (?).

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2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Tumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

622

Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple: when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[231] [243]

1. In each tribe there is but one cacique: many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] [273]

At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

4: Nino--230 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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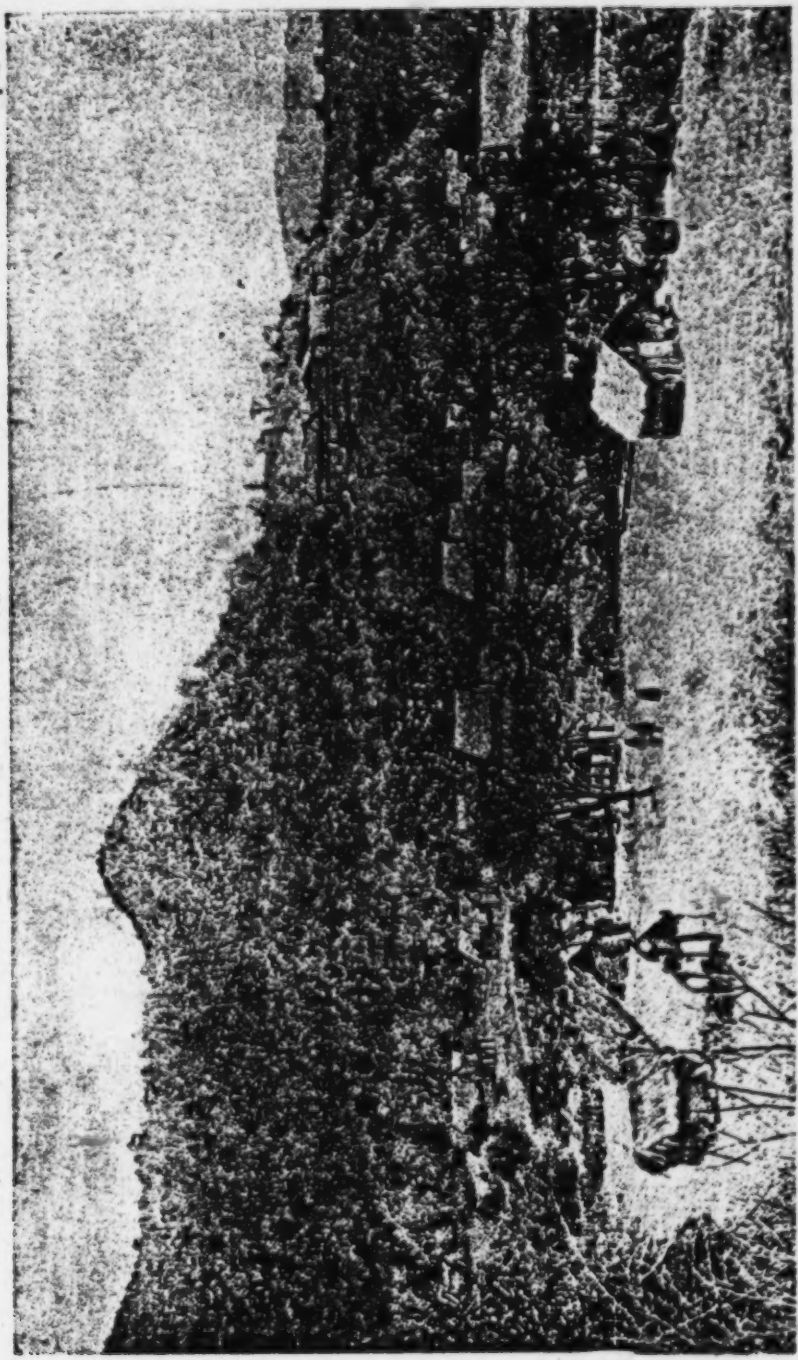

Chiriguano Town

/169 cont./

Towns

It is thus stated in the Holy Scriptures that man from the beginning began to build towns, and all the descendants of the first inhabitants of the earth have followed their example. I believe that my readers have learned that the Chiriguano are different from the other natives who surround them; they consider the Toba and the Mataco to be very inferior, so inferior that they scorn and despise the ornaments and varied feathers that the latter use.

The Chiriguano also, as descendants of the first men, love society and like to live in company, in more or less large towns, in well-formed towns, with houses around a plaza, in contrast to other tribes which, in spite of being sociable, form towns as quickly as they disappear, according to need. Thus it happens that wherever they know that there is food, the Toba and the other nomadic races go there; if they are helping a missionary, they abandon him when the algarrobas, the chañar, and the mistol are ripe (2).

2. Polygamy in the world began with Lamec. From Ada, his first wife, he took Fael who lived in cabins; it seems that the nomadic tribes of America are descendants of his.

I have witnessed both cases, the first in the Tigüipa Mission, where on the right bank of its little river three tribes had gathered in 1905, making their miserable round huts with a few stakes, with branches covered with grass, in which men and women, old and young, and dogs covered with mange lived together. I witnessed the second in the mission of San Antonio del Pilcomayo in 1900 when, the algarrobas already being ripe, some 68 Mataco families disappeared, running off into the woods to seek a life of gifts and surrender themselves to drink and dishonesty, turning their backs on the religion which some of them had embraced.

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses, most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large and in each one there are up to three families, but close relatives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns of the whites. These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necessary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

4: Nino--392 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Choroti SK6

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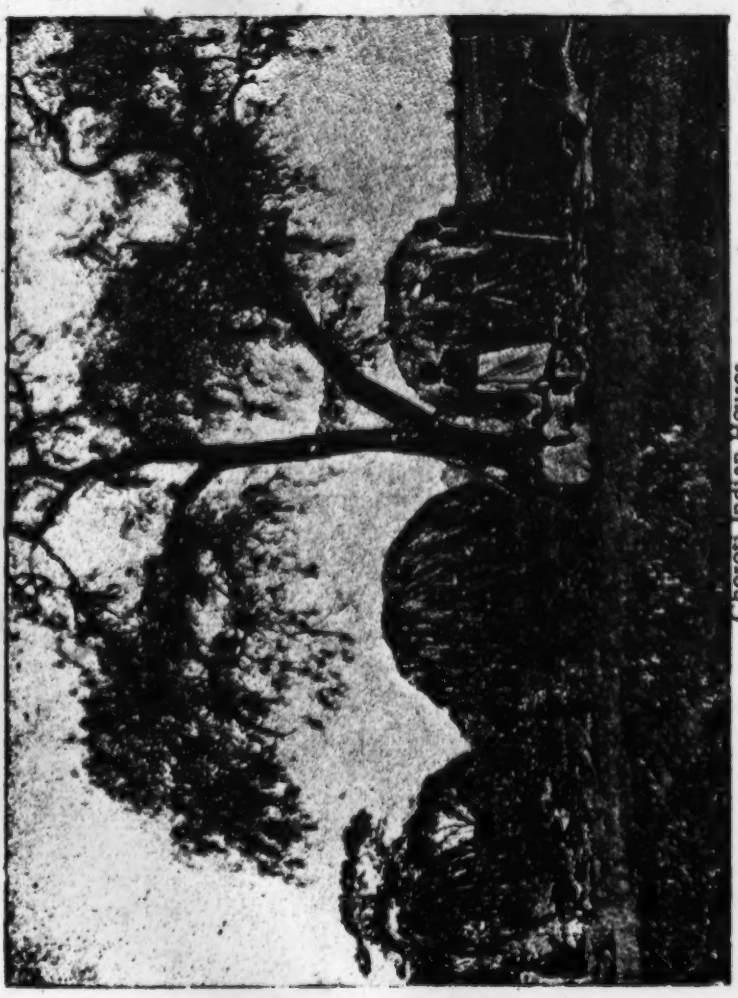

Choroti Indian Houses

/332 cont./

Music of the Mbapa Páure /omitted in the original source/
Chiriguano carnival 361
Music of the Alleluia /omitted in the original source/
Bows, arrows, etc. 368
Group of Choroti Indians 384
Choroti Indian houses 392
Girls' school of the San Pascual Mission 401
Schoolgirls at work (San Francisco del Parapiti) 410
Interior of the San Pascual Church 418
Group of Mataco Indians 422
Group of Toba Indians 430

/The corrections in the list on p. 333 have been made in the text of the translation. Page 333 continues with the following note concerning the end map./

Note: The map which is found at the end of the work contains the following errors: (1) the juntas of San Antonio should be of San Francisco; (2) the line which comes out of Cuevo toward the Azero River is not a river, but a dividing line between Santa Cruz and Sucre; (3) the missions of the Parapiti occupy the left bank of said river; (4) Ibo occupies the right bank of the Cuevo River; (5) the projected city of Manso should be near the bank of the Pilcomayo River.

4: Nino--447 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Map of the Gran Chaco

by Father Bernardino de Nino

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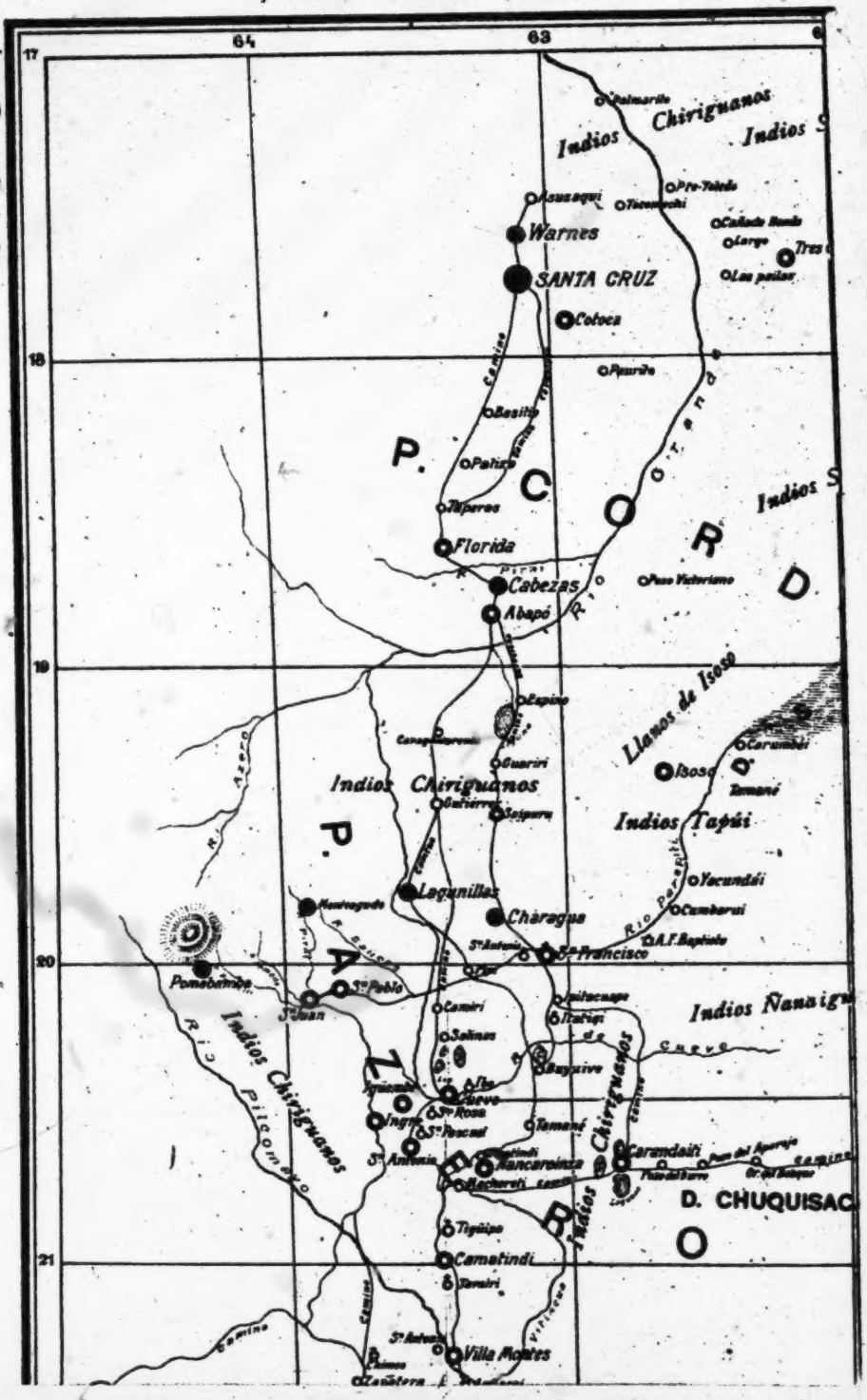

4: Nino--448 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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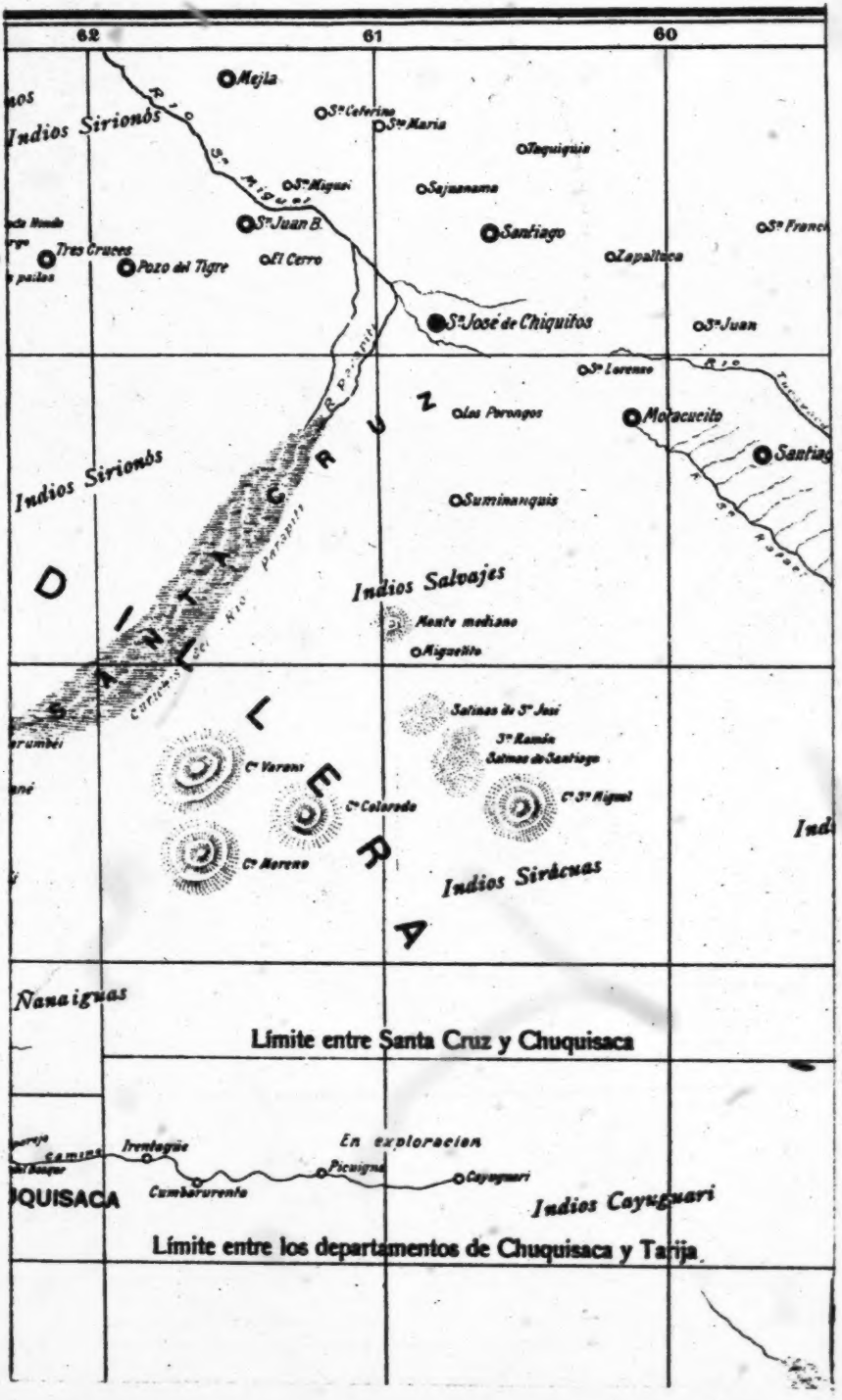

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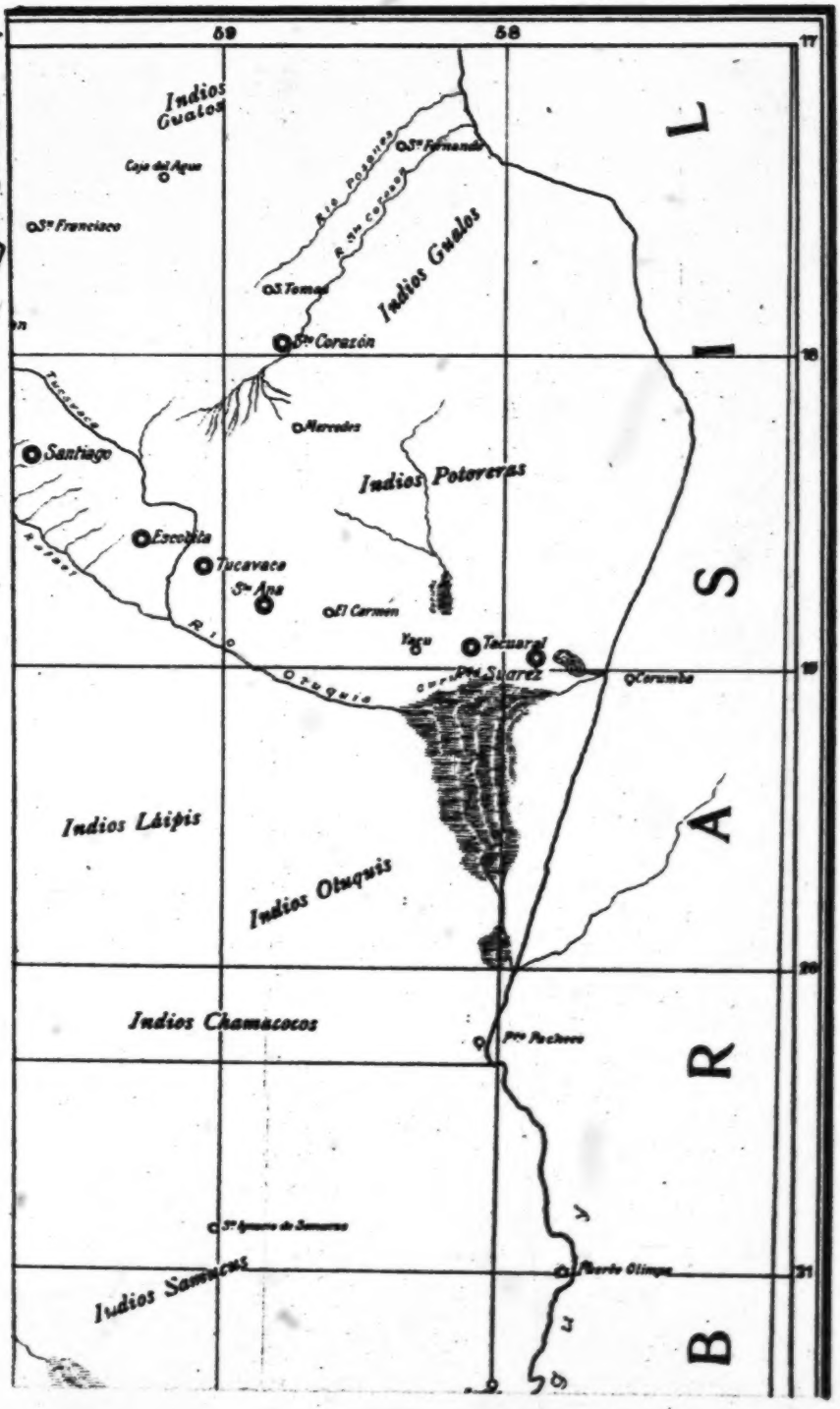

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Some Choroti live near Yacuiba. In nearly all of the Chiriguano territory there are Mestizos and Whites. There are also several large missionary stations in their territory. Some few Chiriguano live in the village of Sta Rosa to the north of Sta Cruz de la Sierra. Some Chiriguano who sought refuge in central Chaco after their last rebellion, live there still. They are the only tribe of Chiriguano-Indians who are quite independent of the Whites.

The country which is inhabited by the Chiriguano and partly by the Chané is a border land between the Andine mountains and the great plain of the Chaco. It is in the valleys between the outermost mountain ridges towards the Chaco and on the plain to the east of them that the Chiriguano and the Chané live. The land of the Chiriguano and Chané-Indians is not a real country of primeval forests. There are some great forests, but on the whole it is sparsely wooded, in places even very poorly wooded. The supply of water is the governing condition for settlement in the land of these Indians. It may be said that wherever there is access to water there the country is inhabited, at any rate as regards the region south of the Rio Grande, one of the great rivers that run through their territory. There need not be a great supply of water for the Indians to find the country inhabitable. All that is necessary is sufficient drinking-water for man and beast, as at Itatique and in the Caipipendi valley near Rio Parapiti.

The biggest rivers running through the territory of the Chiriguano and the Chané are the Rio Grande, the Rio Parapiti and above all the Rio Pilcomayo. The Rio Grande may now almost be considered the boundary river of these tribes towards the north, and is of but little importance to them. The Rio Parapiti is a strange river. While well supplied with water in the mountains it is almost shrinks to nothing in the plains during the dry season. During the rains it is very full of water and may be dangerous to ford. Fish are plentiful only in the Rio Pilcomayo, and we

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,½(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

shall see that the methods of fishing differ somewhat in the different rivers. At the Rio Pilcomayo the Indians must always have found a good supply of food. As many Chiriguano live by very insignificant streams they never have the opportunity of fishing. The Chané all live in places where they are able to procure fish during some part of the year at least.

Big game is scarce in the land of the Chiriguano and Chané. Nor are these Indians keen huntsmen. One seldom sees game that has been killed by them in their huts. The great flocks of fat pigeons that settle in their fields are for the most part left unmolested.

As we shall see in the following the Chiriguano and Chané live mostly by tilling the ground. Owing to the comparative dryness of their land maize is cultivated more than anything else. It is the ease with which this plant can be grown here, that makes the land of the Chiriguano and Chané a good land to dwell in.

The fruit of the carob-tree (algarrobo) is the most important wild fruit. Probably no careful study has ever been made of the climatic conditions of the Chiriguano and Chané country. It is situated in the tropics, north of the tropic of Capricorn and the traveller there of course suffers more from heat than cold. In May and June especially, however, when there is a strong south wind, it is agreeable to have a well built house, warm clothes and a snug bed. The rains begin in December and leave off in April or May. It sometimes happens that there is little or no rain and then the crops are a failure. They are often destroyed by grasshoppers.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
[P 1]
C
343

Fig. 1. Maize-barn.
Chiriguano.

I.

Dwellings.

C
Ce
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Like all other Indians I visited south of Sta Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, the Chiriguano and Chané live in villages. Some of these villages are rather large and inhabited by several hundred people. Frequently a number of villages are situated quite close to each other. As a rule, the huts stand around an open space which is sometimes planted with trees to give shelter. These »squares» serve as meeting-places and playgrounds.

C
Ce
342

The huts are square. They are built of reeds or wooden laths, and thatched with grass. They are very often plastered with earth.

C
Ce
[592]
[361]

There are no huts here of the original Indian shape. The real Chiriguano (Chané?) huts were very large; as many as a hundred people lived in the same house, the whole

5tNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

village consisting of only a few big huts.[1]) These plainly correspond to the great family-houses known to us from Brazil, but which in Bolivia I have only seen among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe on the Lago Rojo-Aguado. CHOMÉ[2]) gives no exact information about the huts. He says they stood in a circle around an open place. In the middle of the square there was a special hut for strangers. According to NIXO[3]) the Chiriguano formerly had round houses. He gives a rather lengthy description of these, but does not tell us the source of his information. NIXO describes at length how the Chiriguano now build their houses.

As early as the time of VIEDMA[4]) — end of the 18th century — they seem to have forsaken their original type of house and built themselves smaller huts. Since the dwelling-houses here retain no traces of their original shape, it is useless to make comparisons with other Indian huts. There is hardly anything in Indian culture which so quickly changes under the influence of the Whites as the houses. The acquisition of iron tools makes it possible to put up quickly properly built houses. An Indian tribe need consequently not have been long in contact with the Whites before they alter the style of their huts. This is not the case, to be sure, with all the tribes, for many, such as those in the interior of the Chaco, tenaciously preserve the primitive type of hut which, though small and inconvenient, affords greater protection from cold than the roomier dwellings of the Whites.

It would be of interest to find out in what measure

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[1]) Annua de la Compañia de Jesús — Tucuman y Perú — 1596. »El mayor de los pueblos es de cinco casas; lo común es de tres; mas son muy largas, de más de 150 pasos, á dos aguas, con estantes en el medio sobre que se arma la cumbrera, y de estante á estante vive una parentela.» LIZÁRRAGA P. 352.

[2]) P. 313. »Pendant ce temps-là, je n'avais pas d'autre logement que le toit de paille qui étoit au milieu de la place.»

[3]) P. 174.

[4]) P. 181. »Sus casas son unos pequeños ranchos hechos de caña.»

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout.

There are always two villages in these mission stations, one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The woodland, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monotonous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the /153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

/159 cont./

things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of Mimosaceae, cacti, small algorrobas, and other fine-leaved trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa,

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth. Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

/161 cont./

In the wilderness of the Chaco there still lives a Chiriguano chief, Cayuhuari, in whose village no white man has been. It is said to lie on a big lake. Large herds of horses and cows graze there, and the maize granaries are always full. The Indians are rich there, because no whites are there. At least so it is said. 173 361

Cayuhuari, who has lived in the Chaco since the uprising in 1890, has an abducted white woman as a daughter-in-law. It is said that, with the Toba, he visited the sugar factories of northern Argentina. He had his daughter-in-law with him. The owners of the factory offered to rescue her from the Indians. "I do not want to leave them," she said. "With them I have my children." This answer honors her. 563

The manners and customs of the Chiriguano Indians have been described by several authors (4), mostly missionaries, /162/ 114 797

4. We find most of the literature cited by Domenico del Campana: "Notizie," etc., loc. cit. /"Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani (Notes on the Chiriguano)," Arch. per L'Anthr. e la Etn. Firenze, 1902. Page 61./ [113]

so that we know more about them than about the Choroti and the Ashluslay.

A part of what I have reported about these Indians is not new, though seen in a new light. Nevertheless, various things, especially concerning religion, differ from the descriptions of the various missionaries. What I have gathered here is from the Chané, and the missionaries know the Chiriguano best.

What I do not like in the various descriptions of the Indians by the missionaries is that they seem to be striving to paint their shortcomings in colors that are all too faint, so that their own "civilizing work" may seem as important as possible. The missionaries seem to me to be unable to describe the religion of the Indians objectively.

6: Nordenskiöld--19 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane I F 8
S-Am. 51
S-Am. Indians 53

/167 cont./

is a village called Tapiirenda. The valley is now inhabited exclusively by Chiriguano, and none of them remembers that, as the name of the place indicates, Tapii (Chané) lived there.

The place names of the Indians of higher standing are retained by the whites, even if they have become the masters of the country. Thus, almost all the places inhabited by them in Chiriguano territory have Guarani names, such as Charagua (name of the cliffs peculiarly carved out by the water), Carandaiti (where palms grow). The place names of the lower tribes, on the other hand, are not kept by the whites. Thus, no white knows the Matacco or Choroti names of the various places on the Rio Pilcomayo. The settlements of the whites are named after saints, Bolivian statesman, and explorers. If a tribe, for example, the Choroti, becomes extinct, there is nothing left of its language in the place names. Investigators of place names should not overlook this.

Through association with the whites, the geographical knowledge of the Indians has been extended considerably. They go farther and farther away to seek work, and they see countries which they had never heard of before.

The Indian as Historian

If we wanted to write the history of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we could not go back very far in time. It is only in the last decades that we see them mentioned more specifically in the literature. On the other hand, we already know about the Chiriguano, from their battles with the great ruler, Inca Yupanqui, from the period before the discovery of America. Garcilasso de la Vega (1) reports on his attempts

1. Garcilasso de la Vega: The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Vol. I-II. Hakluyt Society. London, 1869 and 1871.

[113]

6: Nordenskiöld--24 E-6 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 6

/171 cont./
on the Río Parapití make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. The Ashluslay also maintain, as my interpreter told me, that /172/ the Toba chief Teycolique, during his invasion of their territory in 1908, had several Chiriguano with him.

Batiayu said that in former times the Chané brought home the heads of their slain enemies and set them up on the plazas of the villages during festivals.

Fig. 82. Clay vessel of the Chané. 1/4.
Río Parapití.

/173/ Chapter Eleven

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Everyday Life in the Chané and Chiriguano Huts

As a rule, I felt very comfortable in the huts of the Chané and Chiriguano. The life in these villages is exactly the same. If one describes one village, he has described almost all of them.

Like all the other Indians whom I visited south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, these Indians live in villages. Some of these villages are quite large and inhabited by several hundred persons. Often many villages lie close together. The huts, as a rule, lie around a market place on which sweetsop trees are occasionally planted for shelter in the rainy season. The market places serve as playgrounds and meeting places. The huts, in contrast to the round Chorotí and Ashluslay huts, are square, and their doors, facing the village, are set in the gable. They are made of cane or wooden slats, with roofs of grass. Not infrequently they are plastered with earth.

4: Nino-450 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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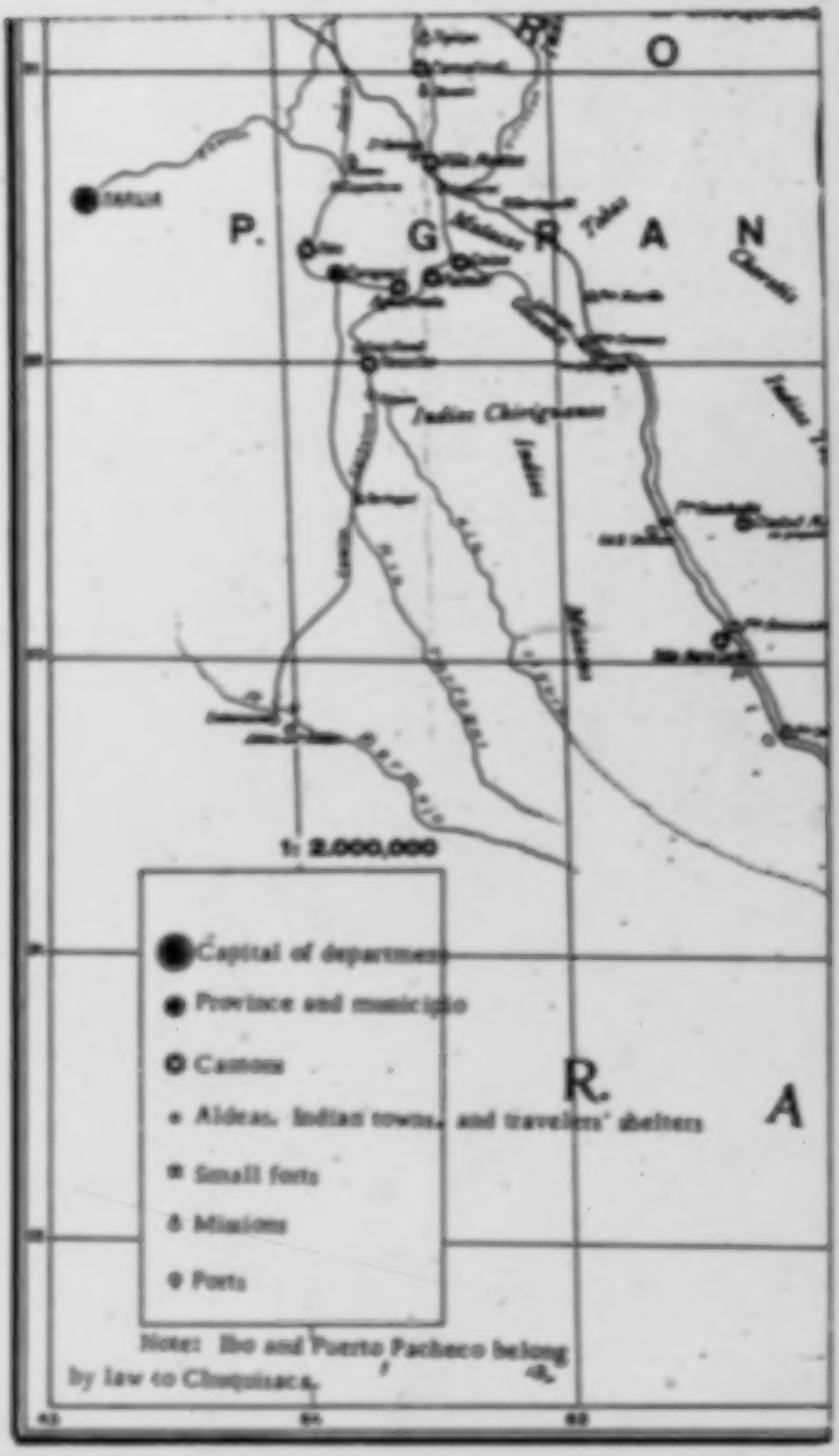

4: Nimo--451 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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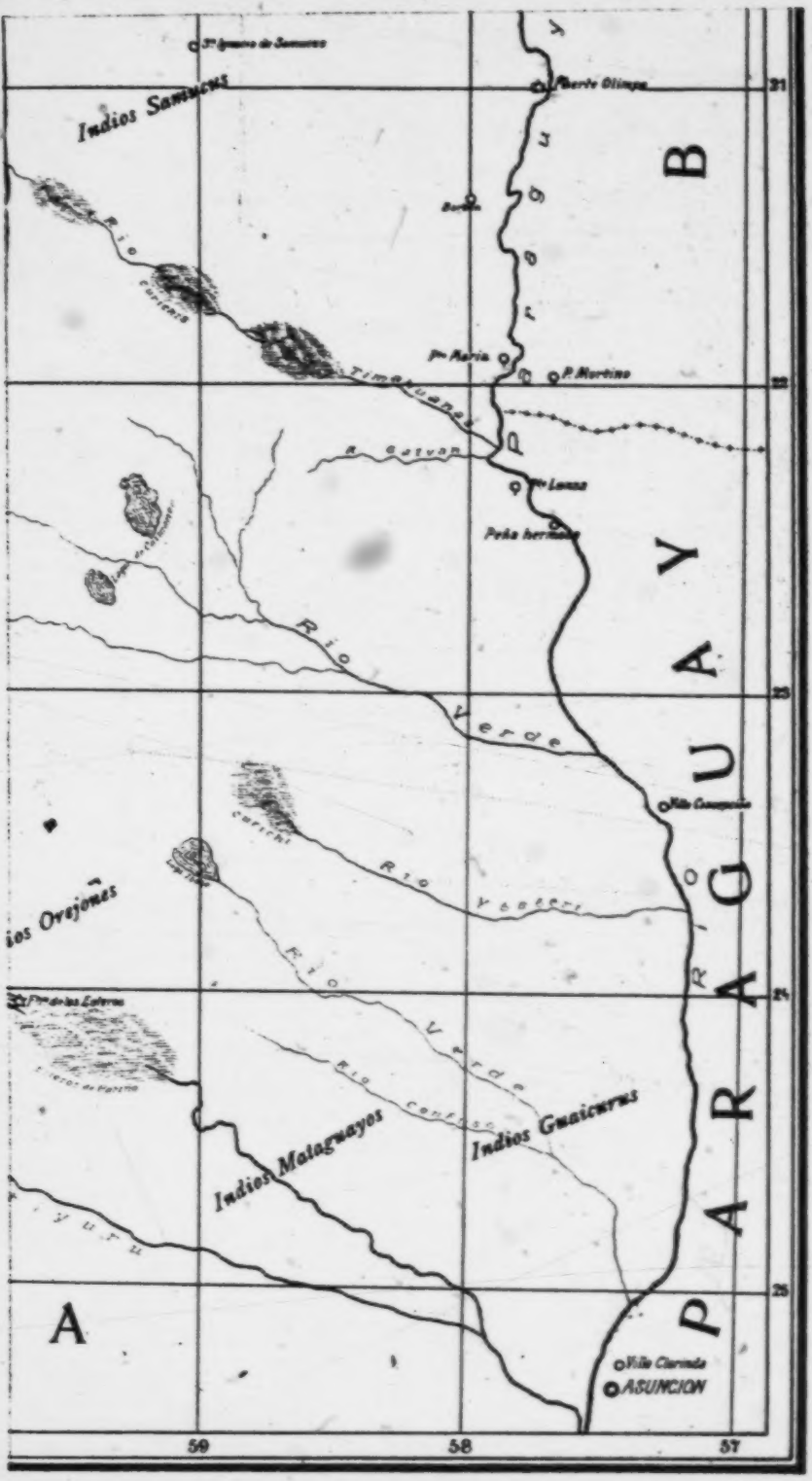

/173 cont./

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs.

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV.

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts.

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings.

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned.

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands

Ce 102 103 131 133
M Ci 102 131 133
● 361

6: Nordenskiöld--156 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF/0●
Mataco II 7
Chorotí, Sk6
Chané SF1

[End Map(s)]

Map sketch showing the distribution of the Indian tribes in the border areas of Bolivia and Argentina

- Mission station
- Military post
- Villages inhabited by whites
- Indians permanently settled
- Indians not fully settled
- Route of journey
- Boundaries
- Larger towns

BOLIVIA
CHANÉ
TSIRÁKUÁ
TSIRÁKUÁ
(YANAYGUA)
CHIRIGUANO
CHIRIGUANO
CHARÁTA
CHIRIGUANO
MATACO
CHOROTI
CHOROTI
TOBA
Matarelli
Tarairi
Charagua
Tiriguay
Tentayapi
Ambaro
Antonio
Curuy
Tolaim
Iguembe
Tumbaiti
Tumbaiti
Tumbaiti

E: Nordenskiöld--157 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF/C
MaTaco SF 7
Chorote SK 6
Chané SF 8

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103 103
131 131
133 133
C.
102
131
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End Map (2)

[P. 190 is blank]

142 To me, the Chiriguano seemed to be of better physique than both the Puna and the Chaco Indians, and their cast of features, as a rule, to be less rough-hewn than those of the above-mentioned tribes. Herma ten Kate has taken anthropological measurements of four Chiriguano men, whose average height was determined at 160.1 cm.[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, who has made anthropological observations of 50 Chiriguano (40 men and 10 women), is my authority for the data I have grouped together in the subjoined table.[2]

[141] [127]

The Chiriguano; some physical data.

Sex	Average height, cm	Shape of skull	Colour of skin, Luschan's scale	Colour of hair, Fischer's scale	Iris, by Martin's scale
Men.....	163.4	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 22	Majority 4	Majority 3—4
Women.....	151.7	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 18	Majority 4	Majority 3—4

142 The Chiriguano complexion is, accordingly, brown with a tint of yellow; the iris is dark brown, the hair black, coarse and lank. The growth of hair on face and body is very scanty.

●361 The Chiriguano are not a nomadic people, but live in permanent villages, some of which are the abode of only a few families, whilst others contain several hundreds of inhabitants. At Ibitibi I was studying a Chiriguano village that, according to the Indians, was inhabited by about 300 people. This village was situated on a plain surrounded by wooded mountains (fig. 188). The huts formed a large circle, with the chief's hut in the centre. In the open space between the chief's hut and the rest, there were growing some close-foliaged trees (probably of the Bignoniaceæ family), affording much-needed shade. In earlier literature it is stated that the Chiriguano used to build a hut for strangers in the middle of the village plaza.[3] In many of the Chiriguano villages I visited, the huts were scattered about without any perceivable order.

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[574] [609]

342 The huts are rectangular and with ridged roofs. (Figs. 188—192.) The walls either consist of perpendicular sticks, of tree-branches or reeds,

[1] Ten Kate (1), p. 26.
[2] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[3] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 2.

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Fig. 190. Woman in front of her hut. In the foreground a bedstead on which lies chewed maize; this maize is used in the preparation of »chicha», an intoxicating beverage. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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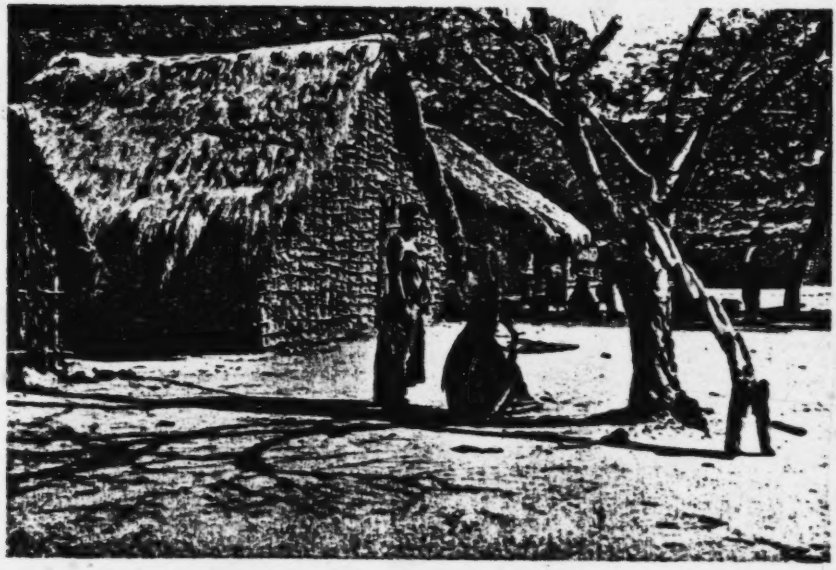

Fig. 191. Huts in the periphery of the circular market-place in the Chiriguano village of Ibitibi. In right foreground, a ladder used on going to the pile-barns for maize. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[P. 194 is blank]

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

or a district threatened with flooding through rainfall or the flowing in of the oceanic tide. In my opinion, however, this has usually not been the case.

According to my thinking, it is the fear of predatory animals that has given rise to the pile-construction idea. Those granaries built on pole-supports, that are so commonly met with in widely different countries, have, we know, as a rule been constructed for the express purpose of furnishing protection against noxious animals, such as lesser carnivora, rodents and insects. As an example, the »njalla» of the Lapps is built

Fig. 192. Part of a Chiriguano village. To the right a pile-barn. Ibitibi. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

as a protection against wolverines[1], and many of the native tribes of Africa erect their food depositories, or grain bins, on pole-supports to make them safe against mice and white ants.[2] Both the Balenge people, who inhabit a fairly arid country, and the Babisa, who live on the edge of the Bangweolo swamp, build their corn bins on piles.[3] As the Babisa often build their huts on a platform of beaten clay[4] (not piles, it will be noted) as a protection against the annual heavy floodings of the rainy season, this will naturally give rise to the supposition that the Babisa

[1] von Duben (1), p. 35.
[2] von Rosen (4), pp. 411—412.
[3] von Rosen (4), pp. 332, 349 (fig. A), and 411—412.
[4] von Rosen (4), p. 319 and plate 67 (figs. C and D), also plate 68, fig. D.

[P. 196 is blank]

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

/1/ Introduction

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114 Knowing only the native tribes of Mato Grosso (Brazil) personally through my previous scientific travels, I accepted with much pleasure the proposal of the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay to visit the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco, and as the idea was fully supported by the Comando del Chaco, I render thanks to the Sociedad Cientifico del Paraguay for its support, to the Jefe of the Comando del Chaco Paraguayo, the section leaders, and all the others who co-operated in my ex-
000 pedition. I particularly thank His Most Reverend Excellency, the Archbishop of Asunción, Don Juan Sinforiano Bogarin, for the presentations which he made in my behalf before the Oblates of Immaculate Mary, whose mission is located close to the fort Esteros near the Pilcomayo River.

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[131] I set out from Asunción on August 7, 1935, and, passing the fort López de Filippis (Paraguayan Chaco), on August 15 I arrived at the fort of Toledo, where I found a great number of Izozó Indians, who had left their homes in the Parapití Valley because they had been provisionally relocated to the area of Toledo and of the fort "15 de Agosto" /15th of August/.

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114 In addition to my ethnological studies and preparations for the coming journey, I attended to the commission of the Paraguayan Red Cross to deliver clothing, goods, and wool among the Izozó Indians, who at the time were in great need. Provided by the Chaco Command at the fort of López de Filippis with two trucks, drivers and helpers, and the necessary provisions, I continued my journey on August 26, heading toward the Pilcomayo River. Beyond Corrales we met the first

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[361] Indians: they were the Churupí /Chulupi/. In Moreno too, which we reached in the afternoon, almost at nightfall, there were some Churupí who had moved from Muños to this place.

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997 On August 27 I arrived at the mission of the Oblates of Immaculate Mary near the fort of Esteros, where these fathers received me in the most friendly manner and provided their most extensive assistance to my studies of the Churupí Indians who were domiciled in or near the mission. They gave me a

A
[126] large ethnological collection of objects of the Churupí Indians, which they presented to the Museo de Historia y Etnographia of The Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay.

C 114 /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing, I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

General Information

As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

Figure 1 presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

3 [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

8: Schmidt--8 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate I

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Fig. 1
(I. C. 353) -- Machareti, a Chiriguano town.

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Fig. 2
(I.C. 251) -- Izozó in Toledo, with Paraguayan soldiers and the author.

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place. Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near [563] Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole [797] territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

131 174 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

● 361 177 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la 36 tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata y Chile /A Brief 342 Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, 62 and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano [113]

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

/15 cont./

next one." Garcilaso de la Vega (57) describes the large houses

57. Vol. II, p. 281. According to Métraux I, p. 331.

of the Chiriguano in the same way: they build a very large dormitory, and inside as many alcoves as there are residents, and so small that there is no room for anything but persons. Through detailed descriptions and sketches, we are familiar with the construction of the towns of the ancient Guaraní of the Tupinambas on the eastern coast of Brazil (58). Four or

58. According to De Bry. Métraux, A.: La civilisation matérielle des tribus Tupí-Guarani /The Material Culture of the Tupi-Guarani Tribes/. Paris, 1928.

five long, rectangular houses were built a short distance from one another around a quadrangular or pentagonal plaza, and the whole town was fortified by a defensive wall. We also know that the ancient towns of the Chiriguano had such defensive constructions through information from the year 1618, when Ruiz Diaz de Guzman found such a fortification of a Chiriguano town near the Pilcomayo River, which consisted of "two concentric walls of stone and of wood" (59). According

59. Moreno II, p. 252.

to Serrano (60), the Guaraní towns of the ancient Province of

60. Antonio Serrano: Etnografía de la antigua provincia del Uruguay /Etnography of the Ancient Province of Uruguay/, Paraná, 1936, p. 125 /the second number of this figure is questionable, being barely discernible in the original text/.

Uruguay consisted of only four to eight large rectangular houses.

/15 cont./

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"In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

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Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano had departed from the primordial construction of their towns, which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

[113]

61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/, Colección Angelis, Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836, written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (tenta) and Houses (o)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Machareti (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Machareti (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Machareti (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Machareti (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Machareti (Fig. 15).

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The Chiriguano town of Machareti was built in its present form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

[343]

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 188-192.

/16/

•36 62 162 The town Ibitibi in the southern part of Chiriguano territory, south of the Pilcomayo River, examined minutely by Eric v. Rosen, was inhabited, according to the Indians, by about 300 persons. The town was located on a plain surrounded by mountains and forests. The houses formed a large circumference, the cacique's house being in the middle. Some shade trees had been planted in the open plaza between the cacique's house and the other houses. In other Chiriguano towns visited by v. Rosen, houses were dispersed without any order. According to the observations of v. Nordenskiöld too, Chiriguano towns are sometimes quite large and inhabited by around 100 persons. Often several towns are near one another. The houses are generally around a plaza sometimes planted with trees and serving as a place to play and to hold meetings.

342 We know the form of the Chiriguano houses in detail through v. Rosen (63), and primarily through the good photo-

63. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 191: Figs. 188-192 and 217.

[335] graphs of such houses. The houses are rectangular and their roofs end in points. Walls and roofs are held up by posts. The walls consist either of only vertical poles made from branches or reeds, close together and tied by horizontal ligatures, or of interwoven poles whose interstices are plastered with mud. The roof (opitiá) is covered with straw. One type of house was illustrated in a photograph by v. Rosen (64), on which one

64. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 190.

[171] side of the roof projects at the top over the other side of the roof. The same house type also exists in the ancient culture of the Peruvians, as is shown by sketches found on the surface of ancient Peruvian vessels.

/38 cont./

Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites, as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití and the Río Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that country.

The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 16th century documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman, in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

/87 cont./

C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

C [462] C 859 868 462

I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears

C 361 592 C 178 592 593 583 [591]

337. Nord. I, p. 178.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.